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The Colonial Dames of America

In the State of Ohio

Studies in the Colonial Period for use in the Public Schools

Colonial New York

By
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of Marietta, Ohio

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Introduction

NEW YORK—the Empire State—through whose port ebbs and flows the commerce of a nation! What part did that colony of Dutch settlers play in the early history of the country? What did they contribute toward the making of the nation? What were the ideals there developed? What were the forces that brought New York into union with the other colonies, in their determination to resist oppression, willing to make the supreme sacrifice of life and property, still united with the government across the sea if possible, but separated from it if necessary, in order that justice should prevail and that the ideals of liberty for which they contended might live?

To tell this story of absorbing interest in simple language and in large outlines, that may be comprehended by children in the seventh and eighth grades, is the purpose of this second volume in a series of monographs, or studies in colonial history which the Colonial Dames of America in the State of Ohio have undertaken to publish for the use of the schools.

The first study, Colonial Virginia, which has been used in the schools of this city since its publication in March of the present year, has demonstrated its value, and has shown the desirability of continuing the work until the story of each of the Thirteen Colonies has been made available in this form.

The material contained in the present study has been submitted to the Colonial Dames in New York for their criticism as to historic statements, and the treatment of features of local significance. It is now published with their approval, as the second contribution of the Colonial

Dames in Ohio toward a better understanding of Colonial America, with the hope that the teachers may better teach and the pupils may better learn the lessons which cluster about New York, because this study has been made for them, and now becomes available for their use.

RANDALL J. CONDON,

Superintendent of Schools.

Cincinnati, Ohio,

December, Nineteen-fifteen.

Colonial New York

PART I

THE Kingdom of Holland, whose European territory is but little larger than the state of Maryland, in spite of its size and the difficulties of its situation, has occupied a large and important place in history. Washed by the waves of the North Sea and with thirty-eight per cent of the land below sea level, the character of the people has been greatly influenced by the character of their surroundings. At any time danger might come to them from the merciless sea, as, in fact, it did come in the Twelfth Century, when the stormy ocean broke in and formed the "Zuyder Zee." But this constant presence of danger made them a people brave, resolute and resourceful. No nation has so extensively modified its territory or become so skillful in overcoming natural disadvantages as Holland; for in addition to the sea, which at high tide flowed over a large part of the country, the Rhine and the Scheldt frequently overflowed their banks. The Dutch, thus impelled by necessity, became great hydraulic engineers. The natural sand dunes formed by the winds were reinforced by artificial ones, and dykes of stone and brush were built at great expense to hold back the hostile waters. The long extent of seacoast familiarized them with the sea, which became, as it were, a part of their ancestral possessions, for with them wealth and commerce were inseparably connected. A system of canals and locks was also constructed for internal commerce, and in Amsterdam one might go from house to house in a boat through streets of canals, as in Venice. Men of all nations and creeds were ever welcome to their shores, while as early as the Fifteenth Century we find them trying to obtain a charter providing that "no new taxes should be imposed save by the consent of the provincial estates, and that no war, either defensive or offensive, should be begun without such consent first obtained."

In the Middle Ages, Holland and Belgium formed one country, called the Netherlands. But in the Sixteenth Century they came under the dominion of Spain, who ruled them with such cruelty that they revolted and commenced that fierce struggle, which, in 1579, broke the Netherlands in twain; the Flemish provinces remained subject to Spain, while the Northern provinces gained their independence, gradually taking the name of their most commercial state, Holland, which means hollow or marshy land. The plucky Hollanders continued for some time to carry on alone the war with Spain, which became a struggle for commercial supremacy on the sea. After the defeat of the Invincible Armada by the English, the Dutch obtained possession of Java, Sumatra and the Islands, and Amsterdam was a busy city as the ships came in bringing shawls from India, silks from China, and spices from the Islands, so that Holland thus became the distributing point for the trade between the East and the North. In 1602, the "Dutch East India Company" was formed, "the first great joint stock company whose shares were bought and sold from hand to hand," and this Company soon gained the monopoly of the tea and coffee and pepper trade.

But the long sail to India, China and the island possessions of the Dutch around the Cape of Good Hope or through the Straits of Magellan, led to the attempt to discover a more direct water route to the East, which it was thought might be found either around the north coast of Asia or across the continent of North America.

The rovers of the sea held a prominent place in the Seventeenth Century, and foremost among them was Henry Hudson, an Englishman and an explorer of renown. In 1607, and again in 1608, he had made voyages to the northern waters in the hope of finding a more direct route to China. He was unsuccessful in this quest, but on his return found himself famous for his superb seamanship. Naturally, the Dutch East India Company were anxious to secure so skilled a mariner in their service, and he was employed by them to continue his explorations in search of a northeast passage to Asia.

On April 4, 1609, Henry Hudson set sail upon the Zuyder Zee as Captain of the little ship "Half Moon" with a crew of sixteen or eighteen sailors, part of whom were English and part Dutch, and with instructions to seek a water route to China by the north side of Nova Zembla. The little bark, struggling bravely against the ice, doubled the North Cape on May 5. But the crew becoming mutinous, the Captain was abliged to abandon his search for the northeast passage and decided to seek China by the westward route, for he believed that in the new continent, at the 40th parallel, only a narrow isthmus divided the Atlantic from the Pacific, and he hoped to find there a strait connecting the two oceans through which he might sail. In this idea he was further encouraged by Captain John Smith, who had written a letter to him on this subject.

On May 21, therefore, Hudson again doubled the North Cape on his return to Atlantic waters, and made at this time the first recorded observation of a sun spot. He then steered his course across the Atlantic and arrived on July 18, in Penobscot Bay, with the sails of the little bark torn by the winds and the foremast gone. After the sails had been repaired and a new foremast cut from the pine trees of the forest which covered the shores, the Captain turned the boat southward as far as Virginia, then steered northward again until on August 28, he entered Delaware Bay. Not finding there a channel which appeared to lead to the Pacific, he again put out to sea and, on September 3, rounded Sandy Hook and anchored the "Half Moon" in the beautiful bay. Some of the sailors went ashore and found the land "pleasant with grass and flowers and as goodly trees as ever they had seen." The Indians, dressed in mantles of feathers and furs, went out in canoes and boarded the "Half Moon," where they exchanged their tobacco for knives and beads. They seemed of a friendly disposition, but on September 6, as a boatload of sailors was returning to the ship from an exploring expedition, the men were attacked by savages in two canoes and John Colman, an English sailor, was killed by an arrow in his throat. He was the first European to die on those waters and was buried on Sandy

Hook. Hudson's attention was attracted to the broad mouth of the noble river, and, on September 11, he turned his boat up this stream, hoping it might prove the much-desired passage to the Pacific. When the boat anchored on its course up the stream, the Indians sometimes came out bringing corn and pumpkins and tobacco, which they were glad to exchange for glass beads and red calico. At other times the dusky natives seemed more hostile, and shot flights of arrows at the strange object which floated on their stream, which attacks were answered by the cannon and guns of the valiant "Half Moon." Thus the ship advanced almost to the present site of Troy, when further progress was stopped by the shallowness of the water, and Hudson was forced unwillingly to admit that this could not be the long-sought passage to China. He, therefore, turned the prow of his ship toward the ocean and came out from the great river on October 4, 1609, leaving behind him the shore called by the natives Manna-hatta. On November 7, the "Half Moon" reached Dartmouth, England, where the English sailors compelled the Captain to land. He sent from thence to Amsterdam a report of his voyage and offered to renew his search for the passage to the East. But the English would not allow so valuable a man to re-enter the service of the Dutch and fitted out, therefore, an expedition for themselves, over which Hudson was put in command. During this voyage, his ship entered the inland water ever since known as Hudson's Bay. Here the great navigator gave up his life for his love of adventure, for his crew, becoming mutinous, put him with his son and seven sick men adrift in a little boat upon the icy sea. This was the last known of the famous explorer, whose name is borne by the great bay upon whose waters he perished, and by the beautiful river up which he sailed. It is not probable that he was the original discoverer of the river, for it seems to have been explored earlier by Verrazano, an Italian navigator in the service of the French, and also by French fur traders, who built blockhouses on Manhattan Island and as far up the Hudson as the present site of Albany. But French commercial enterprise ceased during the struggle with the

Huguenots, and thus, for many years, the beautiful river flowed onward in silence to the sea, until Henry Hudson called the attention of the Dutch to the advantages of that region of country as a fur trading station.

The commercial eyes of the Dutch began to open wider at the prospect of obtaining rich furs for a few trinkets. Holland merchants sent a second vessel, in 1610, to the "River of the Mountains," as Hudson styled it, and by 1613, four huts for traders had been built on Manhattan Island and Indians were encouraged to bring in their furs. In 1614, some Dutch merchants obtained from the States of Holland a monopoly of the trade during the time that might be required for six voyages. This Ordinance of March 27, 1614, encouraged the merchants to greater activity, and Hendrick Christiansen, Cornelius May and Adrian Block, in command of three good ships, set sail to explore the shores in the region of Manhattan. Block ascended the Connecticut as far as Hartford, explored Narragansett Bay and gave his name to Block Island at its entrance. Captain May explored the southern shore of Long Island, and, continuing his voyage, entered Delaware Bay. One of the capes guarding this bay has therefore received the name of Cape May. Some time later another Dutch captain ascended the Delaware River.

The merchants who were interested in these explorations now obtained from the States General in Holland a monopoly of the trade in these regions under the name of "The United New Netherland Company." To obtain the finest furs, it was necessary for the fur traders to penetrate to the heart of the Indian country, therefore one of the first acts of the New Netherland Company was to restore the old fortress of the French just below the present site of Albany. This they fortified with cannon and garrisoned with a dozen men, giving it the name of Fort Nassau. Soon floods made the position of the fort impracticable and it was moved four miles down the river. It was fortunate for the Dutch traders that a man of tact and skill in dealing with the Indians was left in charge of this post. A few miles to the northward, the Mohawk emptied its waters into the Hud-

son, and its wide and fertile valley was the center of a strong confederacy of Indians which was composed of five tribes: the Mohawks, the Oneidas, the Onondagas, the Cayugas and the Senecas; to these the Tuscaroras was joined later as a sixth nation. These tribes, known collectively as the Iroquois, were both intellectually and physically superior to the Indians of the seacoast. They raised beans, corn, tobacco and pumpkins, made baskets and barrels and graceful canoes; they were great hunters, and fishers, and warriors, and knew how to build strong fortifications. They were adepts in negotiations, and their oratory, although unique, was eloquent and impassioned.

On one of the hills near the fort, Jacob Ellkins, commander of Fort Nassau, held, in 1618, a memorable conference with the chiefs of the Iroquois. These Indians had learned from their battles with the French the effectiveness of firearms and were anxious to become possessors of such weapons of defence against their enemies. A treaty of friendship was now made, in which the Dutch agreed to exchange muskets and ammunition for valuable furs. This treaty was never violated and the Iroquois remained the steadfast friends of the Dutch, who treated them with kindness and bought honestly the lands upon which they settled. Through this alliance, the Dutch gained protection from hostile Indians and from the inroads of the jealous French at the north. It will be necessary to remember that this treaty and the subsequent relations between the Dutch and the Iroquois, and later between the English and the Iroquois, were of the greatest importance throughout the entire colonial period.

The country now styled by the Dutch "New Netherland" was practically the territory between the Hudson, or North River, and the Delaware, or South River. To this territory, which they explored and settled, it would seem the Dutch had an undoubted right, for it was Queen Elizabeth, herself, who had laid down the doctrine that discovery must be followed by occupation in order to give to any government a valid title to unexplored lands. To be sure, in the charter of Virginia, issued by King James in 1606, he

asserted dominion in the new world from the 34th parallel to the 45th. As a matter of fact, however, the English had neither explored nor settled the territory adjoining the Hudson, and the Dutch traders who landed on Manhattan Island, found only the virgin forests and the native Indians. Thus, the very contention of the English, that discovery must be followed by occupation to form a title to possession, would seem to justify the Dutch in laying claim to a region which they not only discovered but also explored and settled, and in saying "that they took possession of New Netherland as an unoccupied territory to which they had as good a right as anybody else." But the English never relinquished their claim to this part of the country and looked with such displeasure on these fur traders from Holland that, in the autumn of 1621, the English Ambassador to Holland was instructed to call the attention of the States General to the fact that the Dutch were trespassing on English territory at Hudson's River. England, nevertheless, left them for a time in possession, because her energies were absorbed in other directions, while the stolid Dutchmen paid no attention to protests, but went calmly on smoking their pipes, and sailing their barks, and growing rich in the fur trade.

The charter of the New Netherland Company lasted but three years and was not renewed. But the Dutch merchants were becoming more and more alive to the advantages of trade with New Netherland and, in June, 1621, a charter was issued for the "Dutch West India Company," which gave to that company almost imperial powers. It alone could trade with New Netherland, and was empowered to appoint governors, make treaties with the Indians, build forts, declare war, and send out colonists. Anyone, Dutchman or foreigner, might buy shares in this company, and the subscription was not closed until June 21, 1623.

The first permanent colonists arrived in the Spring of 1623. Some of these settled on the shore of Long Island, where the Brooklyn Navy Yard now stands; some landed at Manhattan; some ascended the Hudson to Fort Nassau, which was now moved some miles farther up stream and rechristened Fort Orange. The Dutch also built at this

time another Fort Nassau on the Delaware, or South River, opposite the present site of Philadelphia, and another fort called "Fort Good Hope," on the Connecticut, or Fresh River. Thus they outlined and defended the country which they claimed as their own.

Now that a permanent colony was at last established in New Netherland, it became necessary for the West India Company to form a government. The principal executive officer was called "Director General," and Cornelius May was appointed to this office in 1623. In 1624, May was succeeded by William Verhulst, who was followed by Pieter Minuit in the Spring of 1626.

Minuit was a man of ability and energy. As his first official act, he purchased from the Indians the entire Island of Manhattan, about 22,000 acres, for sixty guilders, or twenty-four gold dollars of the present day, paying this sum in beads and ribbons, which must have satisfied the Indian love of finery for many a year. Next he decided to build a suitable fort on Manhattan and located it on the south side of the present Bowling Green. This was called Fort Amsterdam, while the settlement assumed the name of New Amsterdam. The fort was, at first, a simple blockhouse, with red cedar palisades, backed by earthworks. East of the fort, extending along the East River, was a line of one-story, log huts which sheltered the population of about two hundred souls. The panther and the bear growled in the distance, while the savages lurked in the forests, but Minuit was brave and used tact in his dealings with the Indians, thus gaining their friendship and keeping disaster from the settlement in spite of many threatened complications.

Friendly letters passed between Governor Bradford of New England and Peiter Minuit of New Netherland, in which they expressed pleasure at the alliance of Holland and England against Spain, and the hope that these friendly relations might continue for many years. Nevertheless, Governor Bradford did not hesitate to say that he doubted the right of Holland to plant a settlement within the limits of New England, which included everything above the 40th parallel.

The population of New Netherland increased but slowly, and the reason for this slow growth can probably be found in the fact that New Netherland was under control of a commercial joint stock company which was simply exploiting the country for profit. A Director General, with a council of five members appointed in Amsterdam, made its laws, tried its civil and criminal cases, and inflicted penalties, all for the good of the company, not the citizens. The people had no part or voice in the government and could feel no interest in a land over which they had no control. Neither the States General, nor the Dutch West India Company, seemed to understand that a government by and for the people is the surest way to create a permanent and happy colony.

Since New Netherland was not increasing rapidly in numbers, the West India Company introduced a new measure by means of which they hoped the expense and trouble of bringing colonists to the New World would be borne by others, while they themselves might reap the profit. This measure was called a "Charter of Privileges and Exemptions" and it provided that any member of the company who should, within the next four years, bring fifty adult persons to the banks of the Hudson to settle there in permanent homes, should receive a grant of land sixteen miles in length, if on one shore, or eight miles, if on both shores of the river, and as far back into the country as might seem feasible. This land he was to hold as "patroon," or lord of the manor. Although this did not mean serfdom for the farmers who settled on these estates, yet for a time they were bound to the soil, since they must sign a contract not to leave the estate for a term of ten years. The patroon, on the other hand, bore the expense of clearing the land, erecting the farm buildings, and providing tools and cattle. He was the chief magistrate, and held a sort of manorial court. He had the exclusive right to hunt and fish on his estate, and received a fixed rent from his tenants in stock and produce, with the privilege of buying whatever the tenant wished to sell. The patroons were required to purchase their lands from the Indians at a fair and acceptable

price, and were expressly excluded from buying and exporting furs, as this precious privilege was reserved for the company. On behalf of the company the charter promised to strengthen Fort Amsterdam, and to defend the colonists from invaders, while it recommended that provision be made for the support of a pastor and a schoolmaster. This charter was approved by the States General, which gave the patroons grounds for affirming that they derived their authority from the States General and not from the West India Company.

This device was not altogether successful in encouraging immigration, since prosperous farmers in free Holland were not inclined to exchange their comfortable homes and fertile gardens for uncleared land in a wilderness full of wild beasts and savages. The proposition appealed rather more to rich merchants, who considered it a rise in dignity and position to become landed proprietors.

The first land granted under this famous charter of 1629, was to Samuel Godyn and Samuel Blommaert, who bought an estate extending from Cape Henlopen to the mouth of the Delaware. These two men added as partners five other directors of the West India Company and Captain David Peters DeVries. More land was then bought on the other side of Delaware Bay. In December, 1630, two ships sailed from Holland for this estate with colonists, tools and cattle. One of these ships was captured by pirates, but the other landed its thirty-two passengers near Cape Henlopen in May, 1631. They built a house and a stockade and gave to the settlement the name of "Zwaanendal" (The Valley of Swans). But the Indians soon entered this peaceful valley, burned the stockade, and massacred the colonists, so that when DeVries followed in 1632, with a second expedition, he found but blackened timbers and bones whitened by the sun. Nevertheless, he made friends with the Indians and started the settlement a second time. But supplies becoming exhausted, he found famine no less remorseless than savages, and the settlers were therefore compelled to go back to Holland. Upon the return of DeVries to Holland, the land titles were sold to the company and the settlement

on the Delaware, the first of the patroonships, was abandoned.

The second patroon was Michael Pauw, who bought Staten Island, (so named in honor of the Staaten or States General), and the territory where Hoboken and Jersey City now stand. To this estate he gave the latinized form of his own name, calling it "Pavonia." But he found the Indians unfriendly, and the estate unprofitable, so he too sold out to the company and retired from the business of a landed proprietor.

More successful was Kilian Van Rensselaer, who bought a vast tract of land on the Hudson near Fort Orange. He was a wealthy jeweler of Amsterdam and set about his duties as patroon in a businesslike way. He selected his colonists carefully, equipped them completely, and established them comfortably, so that the manor up the Hudson, under the name of "Rensselaerwyck," prospered and grew rich.

But notwithstanding the fertile soil, the fur trade offered a quicker road to riches than agriculture, and the patroons, in spite of the provisions of the charter, were prone to engage in it on their own private account. This led to censure on the part of the company, and to complaints of lack of protection on the part of the patroons, and finally to the recall of Director General Pieter Minuit, who was accused of favoring the patroons at the expense of the company. He was, however, a just man and a capable ruler, and he always felt that in this matter he had been unfairly treated.

His successor in the office of Director General was Wouter (or Walter) Van Twiller, a nephew of the first patroon, Kilian Van Rensselaer. To the influence of his uncle Van Twiller probably owed this appointment, since he was transferred from an Amsterdam clerkship in the office of the Dutch West India Company to the difficult post of the New Netherland governorship, although possessed of few qualifications for this position. He was lacking in experience and decision of character, and was given to hesitation and inaction at the critical moment.

Van Twiller arrived at Manhattan in April, 1633, accompanied by one hundred and four soldiers and also by Everardus Bogardus, the first clergyman, and Adam Roelandson, the first schoolmaster of New Netherland. Hardly had he taken up the duties of his office when an English trading ship sailed up the bay to Fort Amsterdam. Van Twiller swore that no English ship should be allowed to go up the Hudson for furs and, hoisting the Dutch flag on the fort, he fired his guns in honor of the flag. Then up went the English flag on the ship, while its cannon fired a salute for King Charles, after which act of defiance, the ship boldly continued its course up the stream. Van Twiller, instead of pursuing the enemy at once, sent for a mighty cask of wine and ordered the citizens "to drink to the confusion of the renegade skipper and his English ship." After some days of indecision, the Director General finally sent boats with soldiers to pursue the foreign ship, which was found near Fort Orange loading a rich cargo of furs. The cargo was captured, and without ceremony the intruding ship was faced about towards the ocean, but the hesitating policy of Van Twiller in this matter subjected him to much ridicule. It must be remembered, however, in his defence, that England and Holland were at that time friendly nations and wished to continue at peace. To fire on the ship would have been an act of hostility toward England and have caused much annoyance to the government in Holland.

Van Twiller showed a commendable activity in the erection of needed public buildings. He completed the fort begun by Minuit, a structure three hundred feet long and two hundred and fifty feet wide, which enclosed barracks, a guardhouse, the public offices, and a house of brick for the Governor. This fort remained during the period of Dutch rule, the center of the official, business, and social life of New Amsterdam. He also built a church of wood on the present line of Pearl Street, and prepared a house nearby for the new preacher. He showed, too, some decision in establishing forts on the outer borders of what was then considered Dutch territory. He strengthened Fort Nassau on the Delaware River, bought lands from the

Indians, and built a fort on the Schuylkill, and also bought from the Mohegans large tracts of land on the Connecticut River and built there Fort Good Hope. Thus the Dutch left their mark upon Pennsylvania, Delaware, New Jersey, and Connecticut, as well as upon New York. The fort on the Connecticut, which stood on the site of the present city of Hartford, led to many complications with the English, who came in large numbers from Massachussets and settled in the Connecticut valley, quite regardless of the yellow brick fort of the Dutch. Indeed, the English looked upon the Dutch as trespassers, and Governor Winthrop of Massachusetts even sent an envoy from Boston to Manhattan to remind the Director General that the Connecticut River belonged to the domains of the English King. In fact, during the greater part of his administration, Van Twiller was much occupied with bickerings with the English over boundary lines and other matters of dispute. Nevertheless, the commerce between the English and Dutch colonies was very brisk and New Amsterdam, with her fine harbor, prospered and grew rich from its profits, which were increased by the prerogative known as "staple right," a feudal privilege by which all vessels trading along the coast, or sailing up the river, were obliged either to discharge their cargoes at that port to be sold on the spot, or to pay certain duties for the privilege of passing.

But in spite of all this prosperity, Van Twiller himself was in trouble, for the company was beginning to suspect his honesty, as well as his judgment. He cultivated the company's farms for his own advantage, and purchased large tracts of land with a view to a future rise in values. Among these was Nut Island, which has ever since been known as Governor's Island. It was alleged that he connived at the sale of guns to the Indians, and that he closed one eye when the colonists engaged in the fur trade on their own account. He was denounced by Pastor Bogardus as "a child of the devil and a consummate villain," and suspected by the West India Company of neglecting public interests to further his own. At least, he proved too young, too inexperienced, and too lacking in decision of character,

for his difficult post, and was, therefore, recalled to Holland in 1637. But the accusations of dishonesty may have been due to the malice of his enemies, for his uncle, Kilian Van Rensselaer, seems never to have distrusted him, since he appointed him later guardian for his son and one of the executors of his estate.

He was replaced in New Netherland by William Kieft, who arrived at New Amsterdam in March, 1638, and whose official career hardly served to vindicate the good judgment of the West India Company. He was, in temperament, the exact opposite of Van Twiller, for instead of being inactive, he always wanted to be busy about something. As a merchant, he had not an enviable reputation for honesty, and he was woefully lacking in prudence and tact. In his new office he was a great autocrat and reduced the council to two persons, himself and one other. For himself he claimed two votes, while to the other member he allowed one, and thus became an absolute ruler. One of his first acts was to issue a proclamation placing upon the people various restrictions, many of which being considered unjust, caused him to become the most unpopular man in the colony.

Before the year 1638, the best elements of Dutch society were not represented in New Netherland, but in September of this year, the West India Company removed many restrictions on trade, and the prohibition upon manufactures, while the same privileges were accorded to foreigners as to Dutchmen. Some financial assistance was also promised to farmers who were ready to emigrate at once. By these measures intelligent and progressive men of all nations and creeds were induced to come to New Netherland and, in 1643, it was said that eighteen languages were spoken on Manhattan Island. Thus it is seen that the friendly bay and the great river early became the refuge for men of all creeds, languages and climes.

Kieft straightened the crooked streets of New Amsterdam, and instituted two fairs which were held every year, and which attracted so many visitors that a large stone tavern was built on Pearl Street in 1643, for their entertainment, and for that of the traders who frequented the city.

This was called the "Stadt Herberg," or City Tavern. A little later a new stone church, which was considered the finest building in New Amsterdam, was built for Pastor Bogardus inside the fort.

The Indians on the lower Hudson and from the Delaware River to the Connecticut, belonged to the Algonquin confederacy, between whom and the Iroquois there existed the most bitter hostility. These Algonquins were beginning to feel a distrust of the Dutch, who were permitted to sell firearms to the Iroquois but were forbidden to sell them to the Algonquins. Too obstinate and conceited to listen to advice of men wiser than himself, Kieft levied a tax upon the neighboring Indians to assist in the expense of repairing the fort, which he said was for the protection of Indians as well as of white men. The bitterness of feeling, which already existed among the Indians, was increased by this unjust taxation, and led to attacks by the Indians and counter attacks by the Dutch, until the situation at last became desperate through the cruelty and ill-advised policy of Kieft. The Algonquins, terrified by the Mohawks, had fled to New Netherland for protection, and Kieft thought the hour of punishment had come for the Indians. At his command, the Dutch soldiers rushed into the Indian encampments and cruelly murdered one hundred and twenty sleeping savages, returning to Fort Amsterdam bearing their bleeding heads. The result of this uncalledfor massacre was a terrible war with eleven Algonquin tribes, in the course of which New Netherland was almost annihilated. The colony was only saved from destruction by the bravery of Captain John Underhill, who surprised an Indian fortified village at midnight and slew more than seven hundred warriors. This destroyed the courage of the Indians, who were at last ready to make and to keep a treaty of peace.

At the outbreak of the Indian war, Kieft saw himself unwillingly obliged to call an assembly of the people who elected a board of twelve men to consider Kieft's policy and to arrange for the expenses of the war. This board was later dissolved, after having obtained from the Director certain promises of reform, which he probably never intended to

keep. In 1643, the affairs of the Colony were in such a desperate plight that a board of eight men was chosen to consider the best method of raising money to meet the necessary expenses. The farms were devastated, commerce was ruined, the treasury was empty. Kieft wished to impose certain taxes which were violently objected to by the eight men, but with no effect on the despotic Director, who exclaimed, "In this country I am my own master and may do as I please." Because of this foolish Indian war and this arbitrary taxation, Kieft gained the ill-will of the people. Pastor Bogardus preached against him from the pulpit and cried out, "What are the great men of this country but vessels of wrath and fountains of woe and trouble." When the parson broke out in further denunciations, the soldiers were ordered by the Director General to beat their drums outside the church and even to fire the cannon from the fort. The roar of the cannon might discomfort the preacher, but it could not drown the discontent of the people. The eight men, at last, sent a petition to the States General for Kieft's recall, and the petition was granted. He sailed for Holland August 16, 1647, on the ship "Princess," having as fellow-passenger his recent antagonist, Pastor Bogardus. Through a mistake in reckoning, the ship was carried out of its course, and both Kieft and Bogardus perished on the rocky coast of Wales.

With the thunder of cannon and popular demonstrations of joy, Peter Stuyvesant was welcomed at Fort Amsterdam. Born in 1592, and bred a soldier, most of his life had been spent in the service of the West India Company. He had lost a leg fighting with the Portuguese on the island of Saint Martin, and stumped about with his one wooden leg, which was looked upon as a mark of great valor, and which, being banded with silver, was often spoken of as his "silver leg." He was an honest man, a brave soldier, and a capable governor, but his first address gave the key to his theory of government. "I shall govern you as a father his children, for the advantage of the chartered West India Company, and these burghers, and this land." Stuyvesant meant to rule honestly and for the best interests of the company, but

he intended to be the absolute authority in New Netherland, and he never could understand that the opinions of others were worthy of consideration. He began his official career in May, 1647, and issued such proclamations as seemed to him for the good of the colony.

The new Director General soon found that there was no money in the treasury, while the fortifications were sadly in need of repair. He also discovered that the colonists too had their share of Dutch stubbornness. If he wished money, they said, he must give to the people representation. The cities of the Netherlands had been governed by a "Tribunal of well-born men" ever since the Thirteenth Century and with nothing less would the people of New Amsterdam be satisfied. At last Stuyvesant unwillingly ordered an election at which the people chose eighteen of their "most notable, reasonable, honest and respectable men," of whom nine were selected by the Director and his council to "assist, when called upon, in providing for the general welfare." But Stuyvesant was of the opinion that elections should not be encouraged, so the board of nine men was made self-perpetuating. Six were to go out of office every year and to nominate twelve men to succeed themselves, out of which number the Director and council were to choose six to fill the vacant places. Although the nine men would naturally, according to this system, fall more and more under the control of the Director, they yet managed to exert some influence over the stubborn and hot-headed governor, and in this board of nine men may be seen the beginnings of representative government.

Soon there arose a struggle with the patroons, who were inclined to put on lordly airs, asserting that they received their authority directly from the States General, and were, therefore, independent of the West India Company, and owed no obedience to the authorities at Manhattan. This attitude of independence was especially marked in the great patroonship, Rensselaerwyck, where refusals were persistently made to recognize the authority of the Director. The government in Holland, however, sustained the Director General in all these contentions, and the patroons were

at last obliged to give up their ideas of independence and to enjoy only the same privileges as others in the Colony.

Meanwhile, trade was suffering from an unwise commercial policy, and the "nine valuable men" wished to send a delegation to Holland to ask for reforms. The Director consented to this, but demanded that the delegation be sent in *his* name, while the nine men insisted that it be in the name of the people. This brought about a deadlock between the two forces, with the final imprisonment of Van der Donck, leader of the nine. Thus the issue was clearly drawn between autocratic and representative government.

Stuyvesant, although despotic in his government of the Colony, sincerely tried at all times to do the will of the West India Company, and was much humbled when the company summoned him to Holland to answer for his autocratic methods. He sent an attorney to represent him in Holland and released Van der Donck from prison, permitting the nine men to present such a petition as pleased them to the States General, which was a great concession to the demand for more power on the part of the people. A memorial was accordingly taken to Holland, which asked for three things:

I—Government by the States General instead of by a commercial company;

II—A free municipal government at New Amsterdam instead of the arbitrary rule of the Director;

III—An adjustment of boundaries by treaty with the English government, so as to afford some security for the future.

The West India Company denied the need for reforms, but finally consented to the municipal government, and a schout (or sheriff), five schepens (or aldermen), and two burgomasters (or mayors), were appointed to assist in looking after the affairs of the city. The meetings of this first group of city fathers, in what has become the great city of New York, were held in the Stone Tavern, built by Kieft on Pearl Street, which was thereafter known as

the City Hall. Stuyvesant was wont to attend these meetings and to stamp angrily on the floor with his wooden leg when the discussion of public affairs failed to meet his approval. The province was now beginning to grow rapidly and many villages sprang up on Long Island and at the foot of the Catskills.

Many men of many creeds came at this time to New Netherland; Huguenots, Presbyterians, Anabaptists, Quakers and Jews. The English also came in numbers to escape the religious intolerance of New England. In 1664, the population of the province was ten thousand, sixteen hundred of whom lived in New Amsterdam. Although Holland had always admitted to her shores men of all creeds, yet one of the rules of the company forbade the setting up of any church in the Colony except the Calvanistic Dutch Reformed. This rule had always been disregarded, until Stuyvesant, in his zealous service for the company, decided to enforce it, employing especial severity against the Quakers. New Netherland has always been regarded as a model of toleration, nevertheless numerous persecutions did occur under Stuyvesant, until the matter was finally reported to the West India Company, who gave to the zealous Director a severe reprimand.

During the administration of Stuyvesant, trouble again broke out with the Indians, and two thousand Algonquins started on the warpath. Hoboken, Pavonia and Staten Island were devastated, one hundred persons were murdered, one hundred and fifty carried into captivity, three hundred deprived of their homes. The war dragged on for nearly a year, when the last treaty of peace between the Dutch and Algonquins was signed in May, 1664.

The struggle between Holland and England for commercial supremacy led to an outbreak of war between the two countries in the Summer of 1652. New Amsterdam had good cause for alarm and set to work to repair her crumbling fort and to build a wall across the island, north of the city, to keep off hostile forces which might be landed above. The wall was built of round palisades, twelve feet high, and was finished May 1, 1653. It has become one of the

most famous walls in the world, for it was the beginning of "Wall Street," the center of American commerce and finance. Fortunately neither the fort nor the wall were put to a test, for peace between England and Holland was declared, and the danger for the time being averted. The English, however, were constantly growing more and more aggressive. By the treaty of Hartford, September 19, 1650, Stuyvesant had practically abandoned all claim of the Dutch to New England, while in New Netherland the English had become so important and so numerous that the Director found himself obliged to keep an English, as well as a Dutch, secretary.

The English still maintained that James I, by granting charters to the London and Plymouth companies in 1606, had taken possession of the whole American coast. The Dutch might plant cities, cultivate farms, and engage in the fur trade on the Hudson, but they were, in the eyes of Englishmen, but interlopers, and owed their allegiance to the English Crown and not to the States General. The English, therefore, claimed the right at any time to take possession of their own. Although this English claim seems questionable, it was, no doubt, honestly maintained.

In 1664, Charles II saw that the time had come to assert this claim to the American seacoast. Without even making a declaration of war against Holland, he granted Long Island, and also the mainland west of the Connecticut as far as the Delaware, to his brother James, Duke of York and Albany. The English King thus gave away New Netherland, without so much as consulting the Dutch, and, what was more, sent four ships and five hundred soldiers to make good this grant. This fleet, under command of Colonel Richard Nicolls, who was the duly appointed governor for the province about to be seized, after delaying for a month in Boston Harbor, came to anchor in the lower bay off New Amsterdam. While Stuyvesant was trying to make hasty repairs on the crumbling fort, a party from the ships, under a flag of truce, came ashore and handed him a letter from Nicolls which promised privileges and protection to the people in case of a peaceful surrender.

The burgomasters wished this letter read aloud to the citizens, but Stuyvesant flew into a rage and tore it in pieces. It was, however, patched together by Nicholus Bayard and read to the people, many of whom, being English, were not averse to English rule and a more liberal government.

On Thursday, September 4, 1664, the frigates came up to Governor's Island and two of them sailed defiantly past Fort Amsterdam with all their guns loaded. The Director hesitated, and the gunner at the fort stood by with lighted match ready to fire at the word of command. But the command was not given.

"Of what avail," said the pastor, "are our poor guns against that broadside of more than sixty? It is wrong to shed blood to no purpose." To the advice of the pastor was added a remonstrance from ninety-three citizens and the tearful entreaties of women and children. "Well, let it be so," he said, "I had rather be carried to my grave." The white flag then fluttered over Fort Amsterdam, and soon the English Jack floated in the breezes of the East River; thus New Amsterdam became New York without the firing of a single gun, and American history on that day assumed a new face.

Stuyvesant loved his fair farm, which occupied the space now bounded by Fourth Avenue and the East River and by Sixth and Seventeenth Streets. His house, surrounded by a garden bright with Dutch flowers, stood east of Third Avenue and just north of Tenth Street. A year after the surrender, he went to Holland to vindicate his conduct, then returned to America to spend in peace the happiest years of his life. The stern, obstinate, but honorable old man died in 1672, at the age of eighty, and was buried beneath the chapel on his estate. The will of his widow founded St. Marks on the spot where he was buried, and a tablet in the wall of the present edifice, erected in 1802, tells us that "Here Peter Stuyvesant lies buried," while legend assures us that his ghost still haunts the town, and with its shadowy wooden leg stumps up and down the busy streets of modern New York.

Colonial New York

PART II

NEW YORK is often called the "Empire State," and one reason for this name may be found in its location and topography. The broad bay at the entrance affords a safe and tranquil harbor for commerce, while through the mouth of the Hudson the country far to the northward may be penetrated. The Adirondacks and the Catskills form natural watersheds, so that the great rivers, which have their sources within the State, pour their waters in various directions. The Mohawk divides the mountains and flows to the Hudson, its fertile valley affording a natural highway westward for explorers, colonists, and commerce, while the Delaware and the Susquehanna flow southward, with valleys that form a connecting link between the north and the south. It thus seems that nature intended this great State to be the battlefield of nations, the key to the vast continent, the strategical center for which English and Dutch first strove, and for which later English and French contended for mastery, and the importance of which was clearly recognized by both Britons and Americans throughout the Revolutionary War.

When, by the treaty of Breda, in 1667, the Dutch formally ceded New Netherland to the English, it is probable that James, Duke of York, was thinking more of commercial than of political supremacy, but, nevertheless, as Fiske says, "Few political changes have been greater in their consequences. By transferring from Dutch into English hands the strategic center of antagonism to New France, it brought about an approach toward unity of political development in the English colonies and made it possible for them at length to come together in a great Federal Union."

When the black English frigates sailed up the bay in 1664, with Colonel Richard Nicolls on board, who already had in his pocket his commission as Governor of the province

about to be seized from the Dutch, the first object seen on the shore was doubtless the crumbling old fort, with its twenty guns, and the belfry of the church of Saint Nicholas rising above its walls; and then, perhaps, the stone Government House built by Peter Stuyvesant, and later called "Whitehall." Nearby was the house of the Director General, and the town windmill, and the stone warehouse of the West India Company. By this time, the log dwellings of the first settlers had given place to more substantial structures of yellow brick, with the date of their erection inserted in iron figures in their gable ends, and with a jaunty weathercock surmounting each roof. It seemed a peaceful seaside village with picturesque background of hills and green forests, yet from this simple, unpretentious beginning arose the great, modern, cosmopolitan city of New York, and in the valleys of this province the fate of nations was decided.

Governor Nicolls proved to be the right man for his difficult position, for nothing but tact and moderation could weld together the discordant elements of Dutch and English. These he possessed, together with a kindly heart, a trained mind, and great personal magnetism. Conciliation was his watchword, all changes were made with care, and not for a year were burgomaster, schepen and schout renamed mayor, alderman and sheriff. He devised a code of laws known as "The Duke's Laws," which confirmed the patroons in their estates, henceforth called manors, introduced trial by jury, amended the criminal code, and promised to all religious toleration. These laws, however, failed to provide for representative government, and thus, under English as under Dutch control, the government was still autocratic, and if the four years of Governor Nicolls's rule seemed to the people a "golden age," it was because of his admirable character and conciliatory spirit. At the end of four years, private business recalled him to England, and in New York there was universal sorrow at his departure.

His successor, Colonel Francis Lovelace, had less ability, but was energetic and well meaning. As the promoter of

the first mail service on the American continent, which started on New Year's Day, 1673, he is entitled to remembrance. It was organized as a regular monthly route between New York and Boston. The postman selected was described as "active, stout, and indefatigable," qualities quite necessary, as roads were few and often he must follow mere bridle-paths and Indian trails. He was to set out from New York on the first Monday of each month with bags of mail for Boston and intervening settlements, returning within the month with mail for New York from Boston and other points. A locked box in the secretary's office in New York received the mail for the East; while a broad table in the most popular coffeehouse was the first New York post office where mail was delivered. This locked box and the humble coffeehouse table, with the solitary, valiant postman, were the forerunners of our present great postal system.

Colonel Lovelace was not long permitted to enjoy his office of Governor, for soon the third war between England and Holland broke out. A fresh surprise awaited the good people of the former province of New Netherland when, on August 8, 1673, a Dutch fleet of twenty-three ships dropped anchor in the bay. The eighty English soldiers, who manned the fort, were no match for the sixteen hundred brave Dutch regulars on the ships. "We have come for our own, and our own we will have," said the Dutchmen; therefore, after the exchange of a few volleys, the Dutch flag again floated over the fort, and the province passed under the sway of its founders.

Anthony Colve, a Dutch Captain of Infantry, now became governor of the province, to which was restored the name of New Netherland, while the city was christened New Orange.

But the war pressed hard upon Holland, and, after a year and a quarter, the vigorous rule of Colve was terminated by the treaty of Westminster between England and Holland, signed February 19, 1674, which provided for the restitution of all conquered territory. Therefore, in the following November, town and province were again

given up to the English and were once more called New York, the fort was renamed Fort James, while the hamlet of Beverwick up the Hudson henceforth became known as Albany. The newly appointed English governor, Major Edmund Andros, with his companions, sailed into New York Bay on the frigates "Diamond" and "Castle" in October of 1674, when with smiles, bows, and an exchange of courtesies the last Dutch governor retired and the English governor took his place. The leading men of the Dutch Colony submitted cheerfully to this change of government and gave to the English authorities their loyal support. On account of their wealth and integrity, they remained leading citizens of the province, and even today New York shows many marks of its early Dutch origin.

Governor Andros was a man of upright character and executive ability, but arbitrary and unsympathetic. He promptly restored the "Duke's Laws," as promulgated by Governor Nicolls, and in all municipal reforms he was most energetic, while in matters of civic improvement he had an able ally in Stephanus von Cortlandt, Mayor of the city.

At this time, the Iroquois were at the height of their power, and the French were seeking to regain their favor, which had been lost when the great Frenchman, Champlain, in 1609, defeated the Mohawks in the bloody battle on the shores of the beautiful lake which bears his name. To acquire the friendship of the Iroquois, the French sent amongst them Jesuit missionaries, who were expected to turn the hearts of the heathen, not only to Christianity, but also to France. Had they succeeded, New York might have become a French province, and the entire continent gradually have passed under French control.

Andros was farsighted enough to realize this danger and resolved on a trip to the Indian country. He sailed up the Hudson to Albany, and from thence pushed on into the Mohawk valley to a small Dutch hamlet founded about fourteen years previously by Corlear. This little village, called Schenectady, was at that time the most remote western outpost of civilization. From this point, Andros

and his companions advanced into the unbroken Indian country as far as the present site of the city of Utica, where chiefs from all the Iroquois tribes were assembled. Here was held a grand Indian banquet with the favorite dishes of boiled dog and succotash, after which many eloquent speeches were made, until at last the pipes of peace were solemnly smoked, and the alliance which had previously existed between Iroquois and Dutch was then confirmed between Iroquois and English. The result of this conference was the establishment of a Board of Commissioners of Indian affairs, with headquarters at Albany. As first secretary of this commission, Andros appointed Robert Livingston, a descendent of an eminent Scotch family, and a young man destined to become prominent in colonial affairs. Albany thus became the center for all dealings with the Indians, and the city acquired a prominence and a political importance which has ever since been maintained. Andros was too ardent a friend of James, Duke of York and Albany, to lend a ready ear to the demands of the people for representation, and so many complaints against his autocratic methods at last reached the Duke, that he was summoned to England to give an account of his official conduct. During his absence, trouble broke out in New York with the Duke's collector of customs, as a result of which a petition was forwarded to England by the people, wherein it was declared that government without representation was an intolerable burden upon the colonists, and they prayed that thereafter the province should be ruled by "Governor, Council and Assembly." The Duke was in a gracious humor and, therefore, appointed Andros gentleman of the King's Chamber, sending in his place to New York Colonel Thomas Dongan, a patriot and an Irishman of high birth, good character, and great ability, with instructions to issue writs for the election of the long-desired Assembly. He was welcomed in New York with rejoicings, for the good news of the promised Assembly had preceded him. This body, consisting of the governor, ten councillors chosen by himself, and eighteen representatives elected by the people, met for the first time, in Fort James, on October

17, 1683. This Assembly drew up an excellent "Charter of Liberties" to be sent to the Duke for his signature, which covered nearly all the points in dispute between the advocates of popular government and the adherents of autocratic rule; such as trial by jury, no taxation without representation, and complete religious toleration. While this charter was still awaiting the pleasure of the Duke, King Charles II suddenly died and James, Duke of York, was proclaimed King of England. This changed New York into a royal province, and decided the fate of the charter, which the King now pronounced "too liberal."

In the meantime, Governor Dongan was employing all his tact in order to unite the Iroquois so firmly to the English that together they might offer an effectual barrier against French encroachments; for there is no doubt but that the French King, Louis XIV, was scheming, by means of a sudden surprise, to snatch New York from the English, as the English had previously snatched it from the Dutch; and that the great Frontenac was sent to Canada in 1689 to carry out a well prepared plan for the conquest of the province of New York. That this plan miscarried, that the French did not gain possession of the key to this continent, was due largely to the faithfulness of the Iroquois, the Indian allies of the Dutch and the English.

King James II, foreseeing the danger to his provinces, thought to present a more solid front to the French in Canada by uniting all his northern colonies under a single military governor. Accordingly, Sir Edmund Andros was sent out, in 1688, to assume the governorship of both New England and New York. He made Boston the seat of his government, leaving Francis Nicholson as his representative in New York. But he committed many arbitrary acts, in his zeal for the King's service, which caused him to become most unpopular. King James II, because of his despotic measures, had aroused great opposition in England, and was obliged to flee as an exile beyond the sea. On receipt of this news in Boston, Andros was thrust into prison and the consolidated New England of King James fell to pieces and again became separate provinces.

The great Dutch Prince, William of Orange, and Mary, his wife, a daughter of James II, were now proclaimed King and Queen of England, and were soon compelled by Louis XIV to declare war with France. This war struck the province of New York with such terror that the minds and imaginations of the people were filled with foolish and unreasonable fears. Francis Nicholson, acting governor, was slow of wit and lacked self-reliance, but he tried to prepare for a French attack. He sent soldiers to guard the fort, established a lookout to watch for French ships, and carried to the fort for protection money collected as revenue.

About this time, Jacob Leisler, a wealthy merchant of the town, received a consignment of wine, the duty on which he refused to pay, on the ground that there was no duly qualified government since the imprisonment of Andros. Leisler was a German who had married a Dutch wife, and had lived for thirty years in New York. He had prospered financially, was honorable in his business, and liberal with his money, and thus had acquired popularity with the people, but he was also bigoted, conceited and uneducated. He was obsessed by a fear of the French and by a desire for political freedom. But he seems really to have believed Nicholson to be a tool of the French, and he was doubtless honestly trying to save for the new King and Queen the fair province of New York. Owing to some thoughtless words spoken by Nicholson in an altercation with an officer, a great tumult arose in the city, and Leisler with his train-band took possession of the fort, which he determined to hold until some person duly authorized by the King should be placed in command. Since Leisler, in this usurpation of authority, received the support of the common people, Nicholson was obliged to return to England in order to report these matters to the King. Leisler's excited fancy saw in Mayor Van Cortlandt and the leading men of the town traitors to church and to state, so he turned the government out of doors, and caused himself to be appointed, by a committee of safety, Commander-in-chief of the province. He assumed airs of authority, styled himself Lieutenant Governor, and sent his envoy to London to make

explanations to the King. As acting governor, he soon felt the need for more revenue, and taxes and custom duties assumed a new light in his eyes, insomuch that he proclaimed the Colonial Act of 1683, with regard to customs, still valid. This cost him the favor of the people, who cordially hated this particular law, and who, therefore, tore down the decree from the trees, or wherever it was posted.

Albany at first refused to acknowledge Leisler's authority. The mayor, Peter Schuyler, a man of great influence with the Indians, and his brother-in-law, Robert Livingston, first Indian Commissioner, called a convention and prepared for resistance to the French, but they paid no attention to Leisler, who found that his self-assumed authority brought him great trials. In 1689, Frontenac, Governor of Canada, decided to send out scalping parties against the English frontier, in order to increase the prestige of the French with the Indians. And thus it came about that a party, consisting of one hundred and fourteen French and ninety-six Indians, set out, in the winter of 1690, to attack the settlement of Albany. But blinding snow, icy winds, impassable swamps, and lack of food impeded their progress and weakened their strength to such an extent that they decided to attack the nearer and smaller settlement of Schenectady instead. The inhabitants of this little village were sleeping soundly towards midnight, on February 8, 1690, when this hostile band, intent on murder, crept within the palisades surrounding the town and, with a loud war-hoop, aroused the people from their quiet slumbers. "No pen can write and no tongue can express the cruelties that were wrought that night," said a contemporary. Sixty were killed and ninety captured, while Schenectady was left a heap of ashes and mangled corpses. This massacre at Schenectady struck terror to the hearts of the Albany citizens, and Leisler was allowed to send for their protection one hundred and sixty soldiers under the command of Jacob Milborne, his friend and future son-in-law. Thus Albany virtually recognized Leisler's authority.

To Leisler must be given credit for one important step in American history, for he first realized the value of united

action on the part of the colonies at a time of danger, and, therefore, called for a Congress of American colonies to concert measures of attack upon Canada. This Congress met in New York May 1, 1690, none of the southern colonies being represented. To New York and New England, however, it was vital to protect themselves from the French, and this Congress resolved on an invasion of Canada. Nevertheless, the skill and great genius of Frontenac caused their efforts to fail, so that the work of this first Congress produced few important results.

This same Spring of 1690, which witnessed Leisler's great contribution to the advancement of the colonies, namely the summoning of the first Congress, saw also the brief period of his power drawing to a close. The King had refused to receive his envoy and appointed Colonel Henry Sloughter governor, and Major Richard Ingoldsby lieutenant governor of New York. The province was to have a free government and representative assemblies, but Leisler's bitterest foes, Plilipse, Van Cortlandt and Bayard, were re-appointed to the council. In his way, Leisler had endeavored to serve his King, and he felt the sting of ingratitude. His surprise, his anger, his wounded pride seem to have maddened him and, while awaiting the arrival of the new governor, he became more and more tyrannical, so that he lost favor with the people, who called him "The Dog Driver," "Deacon Jailor" and "Little Cromwell."

A severe storm on the Atlantic separated the ships on which the new governor and lieutenant governor were bound for New York. The "Archangel," with Governor Sloughter on board, ran aground on the Bermuda Islands, and several weeks passed in making repairs on the ship. In the meantime, Ingoldsby landed his troops and demanded the surrender of the fort. This demand Leisler refused to obey, on the ground that no official order was presented. As all the official documents were with Governor Sloughter on the "Archangel," Ingoldsby quietly quartered his soldiers in the City Hall and awaited the governor's arrival. Leisler, becoming infuriated at the presence of these soldiers, ordered them to disband. As they refused to comply, he fired upon

the King's troops, killing some and wounding others. A few days later the "Archangel" anchored in the bay and Governor Sloughter, on landing, proceeded at once to the City Hall, where he read aloud his commission as royal governor. He then demanded the surrender of the fort. but Leisler refused to comply without a written order from the King addressed to himself, Jacob Leisler, by name. A second command for surrender was also unheeded. The next morning Ingoldsby was sent to the fort to order the garrison to march out, and to promise to all a full pardon in case of obedience. At once the garrison obeyed and Leisler was left alone, deserted even by his friends. He was thrust into prison and, on March 30, he and Milborne were tried for treason, for holding the fort when ordered to surrender by the King's representative, and for murder, for the killing of Ingoldsby's soldiers. These two men, with six others, victims perhaps of distorted imaginations and mistaken zeal, were executed on a rainy May morning of 1691, surrounded by weeping friends and rejoicing foes. This execution was doubtless legal on the charges for which they were tried, but it caused much controversy, and four years later Parliament restored the estates of these men to their families, recognizing at last Leisler's real loyalty and honesty of purpose, so strangely commingled with ignorance, religious intolerance, and bigotry. In 1698, Leisler's son secured an Act from Parliament which cancelled the judgments of the court in New York, sustained Leisler's course as governor, and declared that he had been confirmed in power by the King's letter of July 30, 1689.

In colonial New York the governors now followed one another in rapid succession. Ill-health, private business, incompetency, hastened their return to England. But, under them all, two great questions were constantly in the minds of the people. First, the danger from French aggressions. Second, the growing desire for more and more power on the part of the people. A method much employed by the Assembly for curbing the royal governors, was to refuse them a grant of a permanent revenue and to vote only an annual appropriation. This caused continuous

wrangling, but proved a wholesome check on the tyranny and lawless extravagance of these royal representatives, for if they wished to obtain money, they must strive to deserve popular favor.

In 1698, Lord Bellomont arrived, having been appointed governor of New York and also of Massachusetts and New Hampshire, in order to concentrate power in the colonies as much as possible. He was a nobleman of democratic tendencies, inclined always to favor the popular rather then the aristocratic party. To him was assigned the special task of destroying the piracy so prevalent in the Indian Ocean. During the war with the French it had been customary for privateers, fitted out in New York, to attack French merchantmen on the high seas. But these bold fighters soon ceased to inquire into the nationality of the vessels they attacked, for the valuable cargoes of Dutch and English ships made them most desirable prey. These so-called privateersmen could often be seen at this time swaggering through the streets of New York, dressed in blue coats trimmed with gold lace and carrying jewelled daggers. They sailed with authority to capture French merchantmen, and came back with stuffs from the Orient concerning which no questions were asked. Their ships lurked in the waters of the West Indies and even in the sounds and deep inlets of the Carolina coast, but their trade throve best in the Indian Ocean, and a regular trading post was established on Madagascar Island, where they built fortified dwellings and held high revelries. Even reputable New York merchants sent ships to Madagascar loaded with rum, tobacco and gunpowder, which returned bringing rugs, silks and jewels from the stores of the pirates.

This evil grew to such an extent that the legitimate commerce of England was seriously hampered, and the King resolved that the high seas must be protected from robbers. Therefore, the King and his councillors decided to send out a private frigate commissioned to attack French vessels, but also to deal in a summary manner with all pirate ships. William Kidd, a skilled mariner, was placed

in command, and set sail from New York in February, 1697, on the "Adventure," for Madagascar. No news of his whereabouts reached New York for two years, when suddenly the rumor went abroad that William Kidd had turned pirate. Not encountering French ships, or pirate crews, and food and money both being exhausted, his sailors became mutinous and insisted on attacking the first ship which came their way with a valuable cargo. Kidd opposed this plan, but yielded at last, and secured immense treasure from the "Quedah Merchant," an Armenian ship with an English captain. This treachery on the part of Kidd caused severe censure of the men high in official position who had backed him, and even of the King, who had acquiesced in the plan. For this reason, therefore, although other pirates were pardoned, Kidd was made to suffer the extreme penalty of the law, and was hanged in May, 1701, in the city of London; thus ended the life of this notorious pirate, famous in song and story. Lord Bellomont worked faithfully to exterminate the pirates, although many good people and prominent merchants disapproved of his course, saying he would ruin the commerce of the city. "I am obliged," he wrote the King, "to stand entirely upon my own legs. My assistants hinder me, the people oppose me, and the merchants threaten me. It is indeed uphill work." But in spite of all opposition, he dealt sternly with piracy, and at the time of his death, this industry was extinct in the harbor of New York.

Albany lived in continual fear of attacks from the French, who found, by way of the Saint Lawrence River and Lake Champlain, a convenient water route to the New York frontier. Peter Schuyler, through his friendship with the Indians, learned much concerning the plans of the French, and was strongly convinced that the only safe course for the English was to drive the French entirely from Canada. In order to urge this upon the attention of Queen Anne and her ministers, he went to England in 1710, taking with him five Iroquois chiefs, who attracted as much attention in London as Pocahontas had previously done. They were received at court with great ceremony, on which occasion

they presented to the Queen a belt of wampum and made her a solemn speech on the necessity of driving the French from Canada, a policy which the English later found themselves forced to adopt.

In the early part of the Eighteenth Century, the province of New York grew and prospered under the popular governors, Robert Hunter, and his able friend and successor, William Burnet. But, notwithstanding the popularity of these two men, the assembly guarded jealously all expenditures, nor did it allow the council to meddle with money bills, while it continued to grant the governor's salary for only one year at a time, in order to keep a check upon him. Burnet being transferred to the governorship of Massachusetts and New Hampshire, John Montgomerie was sent to fill the position of governor of New York. In 1731, this office again became vacant through the death of Montgomerie, and Colonel William Cosby, a man whose avaricious and grasping disposition was already well known, was appointed to this post. He was, however, unable to assume the duties of his office for a year, and during this interval the affairs of government were conducted by Rip van Dam, president of the council. The avarice of Cosby precipitated a conflict which resulted in a marked increase in the popular love for justice and liberty, and which, in the end, afforded another check on the autocratic rule of the governors, and which thus proved of great importance in the annals of history. On his arrival in New York, Cosby at once demanded an equal division of the salary and perquisites of the office for the time during which Rip van Dam had acted as governor, and in this he was supported by the "New York Gazette," edited by William Bradford. John Peter Zenger, a German by birth, backed by some of the ablest men of the province, then started the "Weekly Journal" as an opposition paper. Zenger proved a master of wit, invective and sarcasm, and boldly attacked the avarice and despotism of Governor Cosby, incurring thereby so greatly his displeasure, that the poor printer was thrust into prison, where he continued, nevertheless, to edit his paper by dictating to his clerks through a hole in the door.

The attorney general then filed an "information" against him for "false, scandalous, malicious and seditious libels." His friends secured for his defence the greatest lawyer of colonial times, Andrew Hamilton, of Philadelphia, who declared that he stood ready to defend free speech and a free press without remuneration. His plea for the liberty of "exposing and opposing arbitrary power by speaking and writing truth" was so eloquent and convincing that the jury returned at once with the verdict for Zenger, "Not guilty." Wild cheers resounded throughout the new City Hall on Wall Street, where the trial was held, for this verdict meant far more than the acquittal of a poor printer. As one writer has said, "It was the greatest victory encompassed in America by the democratic spirit before the signing of the Declaration of Independence, and the one that made all others possible." Andrew Hamilton was the hero of the hour, for by his eloquence and legal ability, freedom of speech and freedom of the press, the most potent checks on despotism, became the heritage of the American people.

Slaves were brought to New York as early as 1625, and were employed for all kinds of labor, but never seemed to be really an economic necessity as in Virginia. They were, as a rule, kindly treated and carefully trained in all domestic and field labor, and were seldom sold unless incorrigible. But, nevertheless, they always inspired the people with a certain fear, which was increased in 1741, by what is known as "The Great Negro Plot," a plot which was thought to have been made by negroes to burn the city. A liberal reward was offered to the person who should reveal the authors of this plot. As the result of disclosures made by a poor white girl, fourteen negroes were burned at the stake and eighteen others were hanged. When the excitement died down, however, it began to be doubted whether the great plot was, after all, anything more than the wild imaginings of a depraved girl who had invented the story for the sake of the reward. But, at least, the supposed plot accomplished some good, for it increased the hostility to slavery, and caused, to a great extent, the substitution of

free white labor. In 1758, slavery was practically abolished from the province by the act which declared that, from that time forth, all children born of slave parents should be free.

As the colony prospered, the demand for better educational advantages increased. Funds for starting a college were raised by means of a public lottery authorized by the provincial assembly, and the site for the new institution which received the name of King's College, was donated by Trinity Church. The three-story building of stone erected on this site was ready for use in 1760. The first president of the new institution was Samuel Johnson, a man who had been active in the founding of Yale College forty years before. At the outset he had but a single assistant and a very small number of students, but from this humble beginning has grown Columbia University, one of the largest, richest and most influential institutions of the country.

One of the greatest obstacles to the progress of the province of New York was the frequent attacks made upon it by the French and their Indian allies, while the Jesuit priests gradually obtained such an influence over the Iroquois as threatened their alliance with the English. Fortunately, there was living at this time a man, who through his knowledge of Indian customs and character, had acquired great control over them. Colonel William Johnson was born in Ireland in 1715, and came to New York in 1738, to manage for his uncle, Sir Peter Warren, an estate on the Mohawk. He lived for some time with the Mohawks, and was adopted by them as a war chief. He was later appointed by Governor Clinton Superintendent of Indian Affairs, and it was largely through his influence with the Indians that the friendship between the Iroquois and English was maintained, and this essential barrier against French aggressions preserved.

Nevertheless, another great war between England and France was developing. The French complained of English encroachments in Nova Scotia, while the English saw that the French were crowding their frontiers more and more. Hostilities broke out in 1754, and England at last realized

that it was necessary to take Canada from the French, if her own colonies were to develop in peace. At first, the fortunes of war favored the French, and Fort Frontenac, Crown Point and Fort Ticonderoga proved for them strong defences. The British regulars, with scarlet coats and brass buttons, looked with contempt on the roughly clad frontiersmen of the colonial army; while the British officers refused to admit that they could learn military tactics from untrained Americans. But drums and fifes and resplendent uniforms were no match for skulking Indians, and skillful maneuvers had no chance in the pathless forests. Not until many defeats had taught the brave English officers the value of colonial tactics and respect for colonial soldiers, and not until Pitt, the sagacious British prime minister, had resolved to meet the danger threatening the colonies by sending to America adequate assistance, did the British cause finally triumph. The Iroquois remained faithful to the English during this war, and Joseph Brant, a Mohawk chief, whose Indian name was Thayendanega, was especially loyal. He was a protege of Sir William Johnson, and had been educated at an Indian school under Dr. Wheelock, of Dartmouth. His devotion to the English was so great that, on the outbreak of the Revolutionary War, he sided with the British against the colonists, and organized and led Mohawks and other Indians against the New York frontier. At the close of the Revolution, however, he was of great assistance to the commissioners in securing treaties of peace with western tribes. In fact, his character showed a strange union of Indian warrior and civilized diplomat.

To secure the conquest of Canada, it was necessary for the English to capture the strongly fortified city of Quebec, which had been for more than a century the center of French power in America. Situated on a lofty cliff on the St. Lawrence River, and fortified by walls and forts, the place seemed impregnable. The command of the expedition against Quebec was given to Major-General Wolfe, who was to be assisted and convoyed by a fleet under Admiral Saunders. The fleet ascended in safety the treacherous waters of the St. Lawrence, but for some months

all attacks on the forces of Montcalm, the French commander, failed, and Wolfe was so disheartened that he decided to take a desperate chance. The army was quietly transported to the upper basin of the river and was landed in a little cove about two miles above Quebec. Under cover of darkness, the soldiers climbed a steep and narrow path, which led up the precipitous cliff for two hundred feet to the plains of Abraham, just outside the city walls. In the morning, Montcalm was amazed to see the English troops drawn up in line on the plain. He hastily collected his forces to meet them, and a short, but decisive, battle was fought, during which Montcalm was mortally wounded, while the gallant Wolfe, the idol of the British army, fell fighting bravely. "They run, see how they run!" said an English soldier. "Who run?" demanded Wolfe. "The enemy," was the answer. "Now God be praised, I will die in peace," replied the brave general. A tall shaft now marks this battlefield, which changed the history of nations, and on it is inscribed, "Here died Wolfe, victorious on September 13, 1759." The surrender of Quebec, which followed this battle, marked the culmination of the French war, and the treaty of Paris, signed in 1763, ceded Canada to Great Britain.

The effects of the French war upon the colonists were very marked. By the annexation of Canada to England, they were freed from the fear of a foreign foe whose garrisons, extending from Quebec to New Orleans, had hemmed them in and prevented expansion to the westward. They had learned the art of war by fighting side by side with British regulars, and had found out their own value as soldiers. Hitherto, the colonies had been but scattered settlements in a vast wilderness, founded under varying conditions and knowing little of one another. By the common dangers of war, the common need for self-defence, they had been taught the truth of the maxim, "In union there is strength." Men from the north and men from the south, fighting side by side, learned to know and to value each other, while the imaginations of all were stirred and their ambitions quickened by the realization of the vast domain, from the Arctic

to the Gulf, and from the Atlantic to the Mississippi, which had thus become the possession of the English race.

George I and George II of England had been little more than royal puppets in the hands of the powerful prime minister, Sir Robert Walpole, but George III, in his obstinate way, determined to rule according to his own pleasure, and appointed as prime minister, George Grenville, a man as narrow-minded as himself. The King wished to break down the demand of the colonies that there should be "no taxation without representation," and, therefore Grenville announced in the House of Commons that a revenue for French war expenses would be raised by requiring all legal documents in America to be executed on stamped paper. But the democratic spirit had been steadily growing among the colonists, therefore, as they sent no representatives to Parliament, they stoutly denied the right of that body to impose taxes upon them, which they claimed could only be voted by their own assemblies. So strong had this feeling become that an outburst of indignation in all the colonies followed the notice by England to America of the proposed Stamp Act. Petitions and addresses against it were sent to Parliament by the different colonies, but, nevertheless, on March 22, 1765, this Act became a law, and stamp officers were appointed for the distribution of the stamps. At first, the news of the passage of the Act was rather quietly received, but Patrick Henry, of Virginia, by his famous "Resolutions" stirred to a flame the smouldering resentment of the people. On June 8, the Massachusetts assembly adopted a circular letter inviting all the colonies to send delegates to a Congress to be held in New York on the first Tuesday in October to "implore relief" from unjust duties and taxes. In response to this appeal, nine colonies sent delegates to the Congress, the other four allowing it to be known that they were in sympathy with the movement. The Congress met in New York on October 7, 1765, and, after eleven days of debate, a declaration of "rights and grievances" was adopted, which affirmed, among other things, that, while the colonists owed the same allegiance, they were also entitled to the same rights and privileges as

natural born subjects in Great Britain, referring by this especially to the right of trial by jury, and the right not to be taxed save by their own assemblies.

Thus England, by teaching the colonies the value of united action, was preparing them for independence of the Mother Country. Nevertheless, the people as yet had no thought of separation from England. They were not demanding independence, but only fair treatment. The first day of November, on which day the Act was to go into effect, opened with the tolling of bells and the flying of flags at half-mast. Before this day arrived, all those men who had been appointed stamp distributors throughout the colonies had been induced to resign, and the citizens of New York had resolved that no stamped paper should be used by them. Copies of the Stamp Act, with a death's head taking the place of the royal arms, were sold on the streets of the city under the title of "The Folly of England and the Ruin of America." A secret organization, called the "Sons of Liberty," was formed by patriots in the different colonies, whose members were pledged to resist the execution of the Stamp Act. Riots occured in the streets of New York City, and Governor Colden was burned in effigy. The Governor, being well frightened, finally delivered the stamps to the mayor and council, by whom they were safely locked up.

A fierce debate took place in the English Parliament, where the stand of the colonists was vigorously defended by the elder Pitt, and the Stamp Act was at last repealed in February, 1766. Great was the enthusiasm in New York on the receipt of this news late in May. Bells were rung, cannon fired, and bonfires illumined the city. On June 4, the repeal of the Stamp Act was celebrated with further rejoicings on the Common. An ox was roasted whole and a liberty pole was raised bearing the inscription, "The King, Pitt and Liberty." The people also testified to their delight over the repeal of the Stamp Act by the erection in the city of statues of Pitt and the King.

But the period of rejoicing was of short duration, for Townshend, becoming chancellor of the exchequer, urged

on the English Parliament the passage of new laws for the taxation of the American colonies. These laws, enacted in 1767, laid duties on fruits, wine, oil, glass, paper, lead, painters' colors and tea. The revenue raised by this taxation was to pay the salaries of officers of the Crown, and thus take from the people one of their strongest weapons of defence against arbitrary rule, for, hitherto, the colonial assembly had kept a check on the royal governors by refusing to vote their salaries whenever they incurred too great popular displeasure. Townshend thus aimed a heavy blow at the liberty of the American colonists, who were left without recourse against the tyranny of their governors. The ill-feeling engendered by these measures caused the leading colonial merchants to agree to import no English goods until the Townshend acts should be repealed, and thus trade with England was nearly paralyzed. The merchants of London, therefore, remonstrated with Parliament against these taxes so disastrous to them, and, in 1770, Lord North, who had become the prime minister, secured the repeal of all these taxes except the duty on tea, which was retained to show that the right of taxing the colonies still remained. But it was to this principle that the colonists objected, and when the tea-ship "Nancy" arrived at Sandy Hook, she was not allowed to enter the bay, and the captain was obliged to sail back to England without unloading his tea.

The billeting of English soldiers upon the people of New York added to the general discontent, and much ill-feeling arose between the people and the soldiers. The liberty-pole, erected in 1766, having become a rallying-point for the patriots, was especially obnoxious to the soldiers. Three times it was demolished by the British troops, and each time it was replaced by the Sons of Liberty. The fourth pole was cut down by the British soldiers on January 16, 1770, and its fragments piled before the headquarters of the Sons of Liberty. Two days later, three soldiers were caught posting placards about the town abusive of the Sons of Liberty. These men were arrested, and were being conducted to the mayor's office, when twenty other soldiers with swords and bayonets came to their relief. The citizens

tore stakes from carts and sleighs and fought the soldiers with their unequal weapons. At last, the mayor ordered the soldiers to their barracks. They then withdrew to Golden Hill in John Street, and there charged again upon their pursuers. Half a dozen men on each side had been wounded, when the officers appeared and commanded the soldiers to withdraw. On the next day, several encounters took place between the citizens and the soldiers, in the course of which one American sailor was killed. At last, with the aid of the Sons of Liberty, the soldiers were driven to their barracks, and thus ended the two days' fighting, usually spoken of as the "Battle of Golden Hill." This conflict took place six weeks before the massacre in Boston, and five years before the battle of Lexington, so that New York is entitled to the proud boast that in her streets the first blood was shed for the sacred cause of American liberty.

When riots occurred in Boston, measures formed in England to enforce the submission of that city brought all the colonies to her defence. A call was issued for a Continental Congress to be held in Philadelphia, which met with a ready response from all the colonies, and it was soon seen how the spirit of independence had been growing, due to the unwise and oppressive measures of England. The Declaration of Independence was drawn up, and passed by Congress, July 4, 1776, and the united colonies were faced with a war against England, their Mother Country.

New York again became the battlefield of nations, for she possessed the great port of entrance, and held a central position, so that both the colonies and Great Britain realized the importance of this struggle for the possession of New York. Late in June, 1775, General Washington reached New York on his way to assume command of the armies at Cambridge, and was received with enthusiasm by the Provincial Congress, the militia and throngs of citizens. But English transports soon began to gather in New York Harbor, and the last of July saw thirty thousand English soldiers encamped on Staten Island. The hastily gathered and undisciplined colonial army was unable to hold the city of New York against the invaders, and after a brave de-

fence Washington's army retreated to New Jersey, and New York City remained for seven years in the hands of her captors, during which time she lost half her population and all of her commerce.

But in 1783, the good news came from over the sea that, at last, there was to be peace based upon the independence of the American States. On November 22, 1783, the last British troops left the city, and the American soldiers, sunburned and ragged, but proud and happy, took possession of the fort. In the afternoon, there was a public dinner at Fraunces's Tavern, which concluded with the toast, "May the remembrance of this day be a lesson to princes." On December 4, the officers of the army gathered at this same historic tavern to take final leave of their beloved commander, when Washington addressed his former comrades, saying, "With a heart full of love and gratitude, I now take leave of you. I most devoutly wish that your latter days may be as prosperous and happy as your former ones have been glorious and honorable."

At the close of the Revolutionary War, the population of the city was less than ten thousand, its commerce was ruined, and its treasury was empty. But with brave and hopeful hearts, the citizens set to work to build for a greater future. In 1787, a convention assembled at Philadelphia, adopted the present Federal Constitution, and Alexander Hamilton and John Jay employed all their eloquence and legal skill to secure its ratification by the State of New York. In September, 1788, Congress declared its adoption by the requisite number of States, and decreed that the city of New York should be the Federal Capital, for the first year, under the new Constitution. The City Hall in Wall Street was remodeled and made suitable for the meetings of Congress and to it was given the more dignified name of "Federal Hall." There the first Congress organized on April 6, 1789, and on April 30, amid great rejoicings, accompanied by the booming of cannon and the peal of bells, on the balcony of Federal Hall, in the city which forms the gateway to our continent, George Washington, the patient leader and successful general, was inaugurated first President of the United States.

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